2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

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The fringe around the coat represents feathers. In front of the coat is visible the apron, which is sewn to the left border as a chest protector and tied to the right with straps. This is not put on separately, as among the Tungus and Yukaghir. In this respect the arrangement of the apron is like that described by Vasilyev and Pekarsky for a Yakut shaman's coat. The dress itself is not decorated with the iron figures characteristic of Yakut shamanistic coats. Instead, tin discs hang from the edge of the inner side of the drum which belongs to the costume. These discs replaced the ice-hole-disc (*oibón-kŭsdñá*) and sun-disc (*kŭn-kŭsdñá*), which are usually sewn to the back of the coat. Inside the drum were also tin representations of birds; a stork (*kitalik*), and two varieties of wood-cocks called *čŏkčŏño* and *kurrikači*. Representations of birds were placed on the apron and on those coats of Yakut shamans which had chest protectors.

Fig. 14 represents the headdress, belonging to the shaman's dress, illustrated in Fig. 13. It consists of a wire ring decorated with a reindeer skin fringe. The fringe hat is characteristic of the Yukaghir and Tungus shamans. The Yakut shamans either dispense with a hat altogether, letting their long hair hang loosely over the face, or they wear women's caps. The leather footgear of the shaman is illustrated in Fig. 15.

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Not all Yakut shamans wear a special dress during their shamanistic performances, some perform without a special costume and even without a drum. On the Kolyma River, I met such a shaman, named Konon. He was blind. Konon was often called in to cure the sick and was regarded as a powerful shaman. But he told me himself that he did not have the main *ämägät* (shaman's spirit). For a shaman's coat he substituted a woman's coat, *sañiyax*, while instead of a drum, he used as a horse for his journey to the subterranean world a willow (*jalbyr*) with three branches, to which were tied hair from the tail of a white horse.[1] He wore a woman's cap made of ermine skins. Before the shamanistic performance, the assistant bound the shaman's chest and shoulder with a strap, *täsin*, the end of which he held from behind, while the performance was in progress.

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The Shaman's Drum. The Yakut shaman's drum (*dŭñŭr* or *tŭñŭr*) is covered with a hide from a young bull (Fig. 16). It is oval in shape. Its longitudinal diameter is 53 cm.; the width of the rim, 11 cm. There are twelve protuberances or elevations representing horns, which serve as resonators, but also have a symbolic significance. According to a Yakut shaman from the Rodchevo settlement on the Kolyma River, who had

[1] See Jochelson, Yukaghir, Plate X, Fig. 1.

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

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a drum with five protuberances, the two upper ones represent horns, the two middle ones, on the sides represent ears, while the fifth elevation, the lowest one, represents the chin. The fact that the upper protuberances are called horns leads us to suspect Tungus influence. Among the Tungus the drum appears as the shaman's reindeer and among the Yakut as his horse. According to Sierosevski[1] the number of the protuberances is always odd: seven, nine, eleven, but the drum here illustrated proves

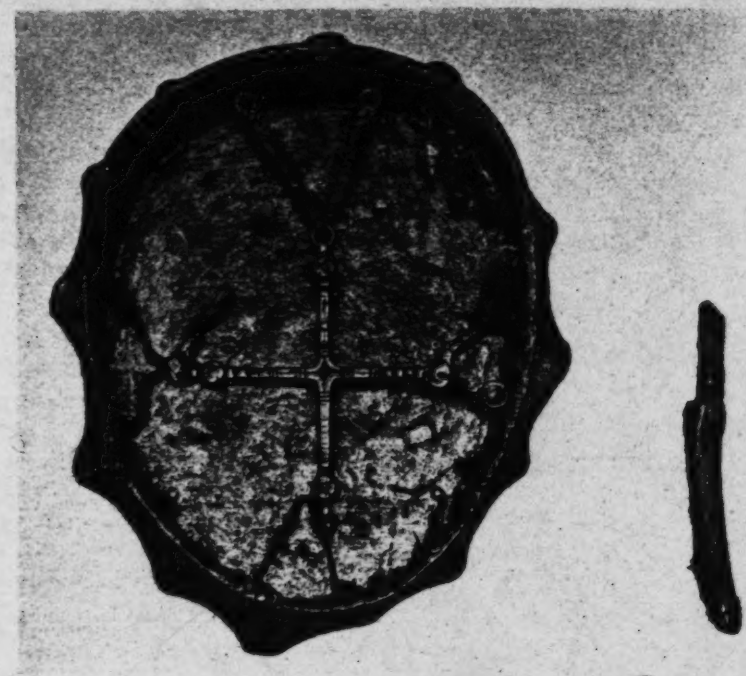

Fig. 16 (70-9071). Shaman's Drum and Drumstick.

that there are exceptions. Inside the drum, near the center, is an iron cross which serves as a handle (*byaryk*). Little bells and other metallic rattles, called *āryk*, are attached inside around the rim. Before being used the drum is heated at the fire, thus tautening the hide and causing the sounds to become clearer and more sonorous. The drumstick is called *bylayax*, its length is 32 to 34 cm. The wider end for beating, is covered with cowhide. The stick is regarded as the shaman's whip when he starts into the world of spirits on his drum-horse.

[1] Sierosevski, *ibid.*, 635.

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

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The Siberian single-headed drum, to which type the Yakut drum belongs, ranks high among primitive musical instruments. The Yakut very seldom use it for amusement. It is primarily an instrument for shamanistic performances.

The drum is very skilfully handled for ritual purposes. It is held with the wider part of the oval upward. The volume of sound depends on the distance from the rim. The farther from the rim the stroke falls, the deeper is the sound.

The Siberian drum has no appliances for tightening its membrane, as is the case with two-headed drums, or with some kinds of tamborines; therefore its sound effects may be distinguished rather by the time and force than by their pitch. This defect may be overcome to some degree by frequent warming of the drum.

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In the intonation of the shaman's voice all sound elements, volume, tempo, and pitch may be found. His voice is particularly strong when he strives to inhale from the patient the malevolent beings causing the sickness. Then his voice resembles the cries of a man struggling with a deadly danger.

According to Vitashevsky, the pitch intervals are smaller than those of our musical system. After recording the Yakut songs he tried to reproduce them on a violin, but the Yakut did not recognise them.

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A Shamanistic Performance. Vitashevsky gives a vivid description of a performance at which he was present.[1] He came too late to see its initiation, called *oloxxo oloror* (on the seat he is seated) and, he understood, at this point the shaman's voice and the drum beats should be weak and almost listless. When he entered the earth hut the shaman was sitting on a small bank in its eastern corner, so that he had to pass between him and the fireplace. The shaman wore his shamanistic coat and his assistant dried the hut master's drum by the fire. The shaman asked for a tobacco pipe. He inhaled the smoke several times and asked for the drum and stick which were given to him. He rose, walked a few steps, and jerking his shoulders and head up and down, he tried to beat the drum, but rejected it because it was wet. He asked that his own drum be dried. This was done very quickly. Evidently his drum was already dry.

Now began the second or preliminary stage, called *mäñiyär* and *sürgüyar*[2] when the shaman searched for the direction in which to locate

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[1] Vitashevsky, N. A., Observations of Performances of Yakut Shamans (*Publications du Musée d'Anthropologie et d'Ethnographie de l'Empereur Pierre le Grand Près l'Academie des Sciences de Russie*, vol. 5, pp. 165–196, Petrograd, 1918, in Russian), 177.

[2] These are called shamanistic objects, as for instance, *jalbyr*, a willow with three branches to which hair from the tail of a white horse is tied. The *jalbyr* is used instead of a drum by some shamans and serves as a horse for their journey to the subterranean world.

6: Sauer--121 G-5 (1785-94)1802 Yakut
116, 292, 756, 534

"The magician's [RCH: the shaman's] dress is a leather jacket, with sleeves from the shoulder to the elbow; along the outer seam, long slips of leather are sewn, as also round the bottom, hanging to the ground. The jacket is covered with iron plates, and pieces of iron and brass hanging, which makes a dismal noise while he is leaping about and beating his tambour. He has also a piece of leather, like a long apron, reaching from his chin to his knees, tied before, and ornamented in the same manner. His tambour is very large, and also ornamented in the edges and cross bars with iron and brass; and his stick is covered with the skin of some short-haired animal. He also wears, at the commencement of his incantations, a fur cap; but this he throws off almost as soon as he begins his magic spells."

14: Krauss--172 [2] E-5 (no date) 1888 Yakut
116, 534, 756

The drum [RCH: of the shaman] known as djugjur. As a rule it is cylindrical and made of wood, and covered with depilated calfskin. Inside small sticks are fixed crosswise, by which the drum is held during the mysteries. This handle is known as byeryk. The inner side of the drum is hanged with little iron bells which have neither symbolic significance nor a definite form. The drumstick, bylajach-kostjanaja, i. e. wooden stick, carries a ball made of hairy skin (turned outward). The drum is considered as the symbolic expression of an animal with which the shaman goes down to the nether world, to the region of the spirits; and the stick is identified with the whip. By making noise with it the shaman makes known that he is on the way. The staff is used by the shaman in default of a drum only. By leaning upon it, he pretends to be wandering. He also will replace the drum by roaring and wild cries, if he possesses no drum. The kuma and drum are manufactured during shamanic mystery ceremonies.

The Yakuts are very fond of eloquence. The ability to make a good speech at a meeting is highly regarded, and the speaker is greeted with cries of approval. 537

With regard to the songs (yrya), the melodies are simple and monotonous, but there are different genres, and the images are often artistic. It is possible to sing love songs (for girls and boys), dance songs, humorous songs, shaman songs, and so on, as well as improvisations, when a person tells in song what he has been doing or seeing. The motif of this kind of song is very simple and usually consists of two or three repeated notes. 533

The Yakuts did not have any other kind of music, apart from vocal. There were no musical instruments, leaving aside the shaman tambourine and the khomus, a small iron jew's-harp known to more or less all the peoples of the Old World. [534]

The dances of the Yakuts are very original. Particularly interesting is a round called the *ohyoraa*, performed during festivals. 535

The dancers stand in a circle arm in arm and in time to the singing move with majestic steps to the left, in the direction of movement of the sun. There were variations of this dance in different localities. There were also various dancing games.

Ornamental art attained a high level of development among the Yakuts. The carving of wood and mammoth ivory; the casting and stamping of silver, copper and gold; the embroidery and applique of leather and fabric; fur appliqué and mosaic; the weaving of horsehair: all these were arts performed with materials available to the Yakuts and in which the craftsmen showed particular artistic taste and skill. Basically there was no graphic art for other than decorative purposes among the Yakuts, just as in the folk art of the past as a whole, if we disregard the animal, and human figures made by the shamans, and the later carved sculpture made in imitation of Russian examples. 531 532

The style of the Yakut design was original, although it contained Tungus, Mongol and other elements. Geometric motifs predominated, at times rather intricate ones. On the carved wooden vessels we find circular designs consisting of straight, serrated and wavy lines with points, dashes and so on, covering almost the entire surface. In the stamping, casting and birchbark carving, there predominate symmetrical, rounded figures, such as hooks, meanders, pincer-shapes, and so on, with linear squares, concentric circles and so forth. Very typical is a design found on scoops and saddlecloths; here one is struck by the central two-horned lyre—a purely Yakut motif. 531

The darkening of silver, and the painting of wood and alder with a concoction of alder, were developed.

In the selection of colors, preference was shown for black, red and, to some extent yellow and blue. The same preference was shown in the selection of fabric of the appropriate color.

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Such was the culture of the Yakut people up to the October Revolution. 175

Particularly important was the cultural assistance which the Yakuts obtained from the fraternal Russian people during the prerevolutionary years. In the 19th century it was mainly the political exiles, beginning with the Decembrists, who spread culture through Yakutiya. There were also other progressive Russian people who diffused the beginnings of a cultivated way of life among the Yakuts. In particular, they laid the 177 212

foundations of the Yakut written language.

55:Popov E-5 (no date) 1964 RV2 Yakut RV2
Dolgan

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Women's chestpiece embroidered with colored beads.

of tales called ustuoruya (from the Russian word "istoriya" or history), in which the heroes were Russian merchants, poor state-owned peasants, Ivan Tsarevich and other characters from Russian fairytales. Their plots are also close to those of the Russian tales. The historical legends tell of journeys to strange countries and the unusual adventures involved. Some of them are close in content to the legends of the Olenek Khosun epic.

Both in theme and in method of narration, the epic tales were very close to the Yakut olonkho and were even called by the same name. They often describe a way of life alien to the Dolgans; they mention horses and cows, but hardly ever mention reindeer. Their theme is the struggle between heroes and persons consorting with evil spirits. The dialogues, just as in the Yakut epic tales, were sung. Dolgan songs are either short (lyrical) or long. The former were not performed by professionals, and the composers and performers were usually boys and girls. The long songs were performed by highly gifted improvisers or "songsters," who were relatively few and far between.

The storytellers were regarded as the elite, chosen by the good deities and spirits. Gifted storytellers created their own schools and whole generations of young storytellers studied under them. According to the old beliefs of the Dolgans, all the images drawn by the storytellers could be turned into visible images or shadows. This belief in the ability of the storyteller to re-create real images by his words was exploited by the Dolgan shamans to make their methods of "curing" the sick more convincing. Sometimes, to determine which spirit the disease had come from, the shaman would send for a storyteller. The latter would begin telling an epic tale as dusk fell. As soon as the hero of the tale began to gain the upper hand over his adversary, the spirit which had allegedly been eating the patient began to emerge to help his brother spirit. As soon as he saw the evil spirit and knew what kind it was, the shaman cast a spell, now knowing what he had to do to cure the sick person. During heavy epidemics shamans often resorted to the help of the storytellers by asking them to spend evenings telling stories in which all the adventures of the heroes had a happy ending. Since it was considered that the images in the epic tales became visible, in the spring, when the geese arrived, no stories were recounted so that the images would not frighten the geese. To avoid frightening wild deer, stories were not told on the eve of the hunt.

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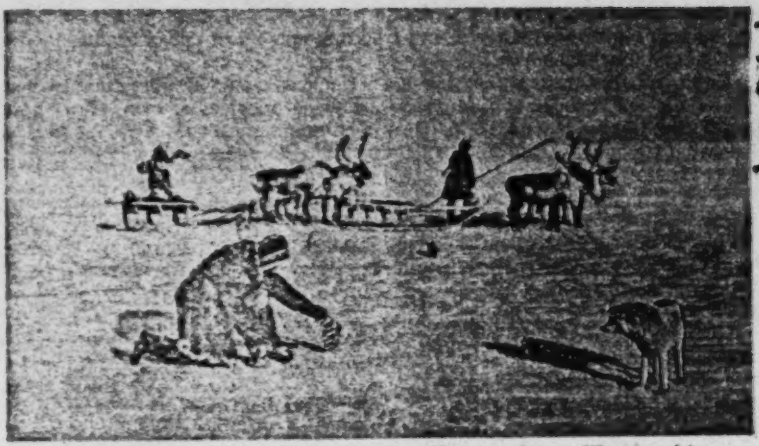
The Dolgans had no musical instruments. It was only at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries that the Yakut jew's-harp began to

55:Popov E-5 (no date) 1964 RV2 Yakut RV2
Dolgan



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Setting bait for foxes. "Victory" collective farm, Khatangskiy Rayon, Taymyr National Okrug.

become common. The art of dancing was practically unknown to the Dolgans. 534
Like the Evenks, they only had rounds (with the refrain "kheyro") in which 535
the men and women went round and round, leading each other by the arm 171
and stamping on the ground.

The graphic art of the Dolgans was of an applied nature. Both festive 531
and ordinary clothing was richly ornamented with beads or appliquéd with 194
narrow strips of colored material. Patterned embroidery with deerhair on suede dyed red with an infusion of alder bark or ochre, or dyed black with graphite, was common. Also to be found was fine openwork embroidery with tendon thread on the straps and belts of the reindeer harness. Decorating the clothing was a job of the women. The men mainly engaged in 321
mammoth-ivory carving. They acquired a particularly high degree of skill in carving cheek-plates for the reindeer halter. Tin-inlaid fronts for reindeer saddles and knife handles were also found. The smiths were con- 326
sidered to be very skilled at inlaying iron objects with copper and silver. The runners and backs of light, low sleds common in the Khatangskiy Rayon show an intriguing range of colors. Dolgan designs for the most part are 331
geometric; they consist of combinations of crosses, semicircles, zigzags and broken lines. Wood-carving of a religious nature was also commonly 322
found. The representations were usually very symbolic.

The Post-Revolutionary Period in the Life of the Dolgans

In 1926, there were already 17 cooperative stores in the Dolgan territory. 631
In 1931, the former clan Soviets were changed over and replaced by territorial nomadic Soviets, which went to make up the Taymyr Dolgan-Nennish 443
National Okrug.

Collectivization of the Dolgans was begun in 1930-31 and completed in 474
1938. The Dolgan collective farms have collectivized reindeer herds, lines 233
of permanent polar-fox traps, supplies of portable steel springtraps, 224
firearms for hunting and protection of the herds, seines and vertical nets, reindeer harness, sleds, buildings, and special Arctic clothing. The